THE STUDY OF JAPANESE PERSONALITY AND BEHAVIOR

by William Caudill

A number of books and review articles closely related to the topic of this paper has appeared in recent years. Wagatsuma (1969) has written on social psychology in Japan, and studies of culture and personality and national character have been covered from varying points of view by Sofue (1960), Norbeck and DeVos (1961), Silberman (1962), Shimada (1963), Yamamoto (1964), Hamaguchi (1965), and Moore (1967). The topic of Japanese culture and psychiatric illness has also been reviewed (Caudill and Doi 1963; Caudill and Lin 1969). Beyond these topics, we also need to think about what has been done in the closely related areas of values, family studies, child socialization, and the effects on behavior brought about by economic, social, and other cultural changes in Japan (see Caudill MS). It is only in the past twenty-five years that we have made a serious attempt to study Japanese culture and personality scientifically. We have blocked out some areas of fact and conjecture and now need to study these and other matters in greater detail. This paper attempts to provide some focus and direction for such future studies.

The Nature of the Problem

Why should we study psychological adjustment in Japan at all? That it is interesting is not an adequate scientific reason; there must be something unique about Japanese psychological adjustment that teaches us more — that adds a special illumination on the human condition. Asking this question brings into focus certain general problems: 1) the need to consider the entire sweep of man's psychological development and the problem of variance in human behavior; 2) the need for a comparative focus in research; and 3) strategies of research: whether to follow a problem in depth in a single culture with some forays into comparison or to follow it systematically over a series of cultures without pursuing its ramifications in any particular culture.

1) Some aspects of human personality are at least a million years old and in many ways everybody is more alike than different. People are also obviously influenced by the cultures to which they are exposed and therefore differ in personality from one society to another. Despite pan-societal con-

sistencies, a tremendous variation exists among individuals in any one country, and we must always keep both inter- and intragroup variation in mind conceptually and methodologically in examining a problem.

For millions of years man lived as a hunter in simple societies. About 10,000 years ago, with the advent of agricultural life, societies became more complex and differentiated, and distinctive cultural traditions developed that often persisted over several thousand years. Only in the last 500 years have people with these various traditions been in world-wide contact. And it is merely in the last century that "modern" societies have emerged.

"Modern" refers to the similar changes that take place in the occupational and industrial structure of many societies, accompanying technological advancement. The process of modernization usually results in a society that is stratified into social classes (or levels of responsibility) closely tied to positions in the occupational structure. Thus middle-class managerial personnel in England and France may have more in common than either group has with working-class machine operators in their own country. I do not think, however, that anyone would say such Englishmen and Frenchmen are indistinguishable in their views of work, politics, or sex. They differ in those historically derived and culturally patterned ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving that are passed on, often unknowingly, from one generation to the next and are shared in considerable part by all members of a society.

Both position in modern social structure and continuity of culture exert relatively independent influences on human behavior, and both need to be considered in investigating the psychological characteristics of a people. Support for this view is provided by various recent empirical studies, for example, Pearlin and Kohn (1966) on parental values concerning child rearing in Italy and the United States, and our work in Japan and America on symptom patterns of psychiatric patients (Caudill and Schooler 1969) and on maternal care and child behavior (Caudill and Plath 1966, and Caudill and Weinstein 1969).

Japan has something to teach us about psychological adjustment because it is similar in its modern social structure to many other industrial countries, and yet it is culturally quite different. The distinction between modern social structure and historical tradition is, however, often blurred. Individual psychological differences and individual biological differences (in genetic endowment, physiological development, age, and sex) are also sources of variance in human behavior and psychological adjustment. Thus for purposes of research four distinguishable variables need to be examined separately and in interaction. If we assume arbitrarily that each variable carries equal weight, then by controlling on three variables, we may explain about one-fourth of the variance in a sample of human behavior. Using psychological measures as dependent variables, and culture as the main independent variable, I would then expect to find about one-fourth of the variance

between samples of Japanese and American behavior attributable to cultural differences (see Caudill and Weinstein 1969). The tendency to date, however, has been to give research results more in all-or-none terms. We tend to say that the Japanese are this way and the Americans are that way, ignoring a large area of overlap due in part to innate similarities.

2) To point out what is special about psychological adjustment in Japan, we need adequate comparative data. Such statements as "Japanese mothers are very attentive to their babies," or "Japanese babies do not cry very much" are difficult to evaluate. Presumably the writer has in mind a comparative group, either his own or some other society. For example, in my research I found that Japanese and American mothers spend an equal amount of daytime hours directly caring for their babies but their styles of care differ somewhat; and Japanese babies cry more than American babies, whereas American babies are more happily vocal and probably more vocal in general. Another example is the statement we often hear of the central importance of kinship in Japanese life. As measured by the number of visits with relatives each month, however, more contact occurs between relatives in Detroit than in Tokyo (Blood 1967). In Italy kinship is also supposed to be of great importance, and Pearlin (MS) reports that there is more visiting with relatives in Turin than in American cities. The importance of kinship in Japanese cities thus would seem to mean something other than frequency of contact among kin.

The main point here is that findings are always inherently comparative, and the more explicit the comparisons the better. Comparisons also need to be made within cultures by social class, occupation, age, sex and so on. I do not mean to urge that we always gather matched samples from comparative groups in two or more countries or from contrasting levels in one country; rather, research should be done in a manner objective enough to be *reproducible* by another scholar so that eventually results may be checked and comparisons made. Much of the research by both Japanese and Westerners on the psychological study of Japan is neither comparative nor reproducible.

3) I have already mentioned two strategies of research: a) a person may study intensively a set of problems in a single culture, or b) he may follow a set of problems across cultural boundaries. Students of Japan have tended to neglect the second strategy, but a few "problem-oriented" scholars, such as Blood (1967), Abate and Berrien (1967), Bendix (1967), and Eisenstadt (1964), have already made effective comparative use of Japanese materials in writing on topics meaningful for understanding psychological adjustment.

Specialization in a single culture is useful for arriving at gradually deepening insight on specific subjects of study, but it is probably not possible to become a general "expert" in the study of a nation and culture as complex as Japan. It is better to stick to a particular problem, and to develop working

relations with Japanese colleagues with similar interests. This is not easy. Americans, for example, must do better with the Japanese language, and Japanese must do better with English. Americans must learn to control their pushiness and impatience, and Japanese must learn not to withdraw behind the barriers they have erected as an overly self-conscious people. One way to remove this impasse is for both sides to take the interactive role of "colleague" seriously, rather than to follow other role models such as "teacher-student," "employer-employee," "exploiter-exploited," and so on. As a practical matter, this means that an American would do research in Japan *together* with his Japanese colleague and, reciprocally, a Japanese would do research in America with his American colleague. At present, unfortunately, the American often tries too quickly to do research in Japan, and the Japanese comes to study at a university in America without trying to do research.

Themes Over the Years in Research on Psychological Issues in Japan

By going over representative books and articles on Japanese personality and character dating from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the present, I had hoped to get an idea of the effects of social change on psychological patterns in the past century. What is discouraging, however, is that this literature is essentially repetitive; moreover, it tends to assume that psychological characteristics are homogeneous in the population. Such persistence of ubiquitous characteristics may indeed have occurred, but my reading gave me the strong feeling that we should stop writing such timeless documents and get down to the more serious business of finding out how to study national character objectively with proper attention to historical and social structural variables.[1]

As a basis for thinking about future studies, I shall sketch a few of the common themes noted in my reading which I believe represent real and interesting psychological characteristics in Japanese life. (For other attempts at such a listing, see Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, Kokuminsei Chosa Iinkai 1961; and Yamamoto 1964.) For convenience I have numbered the themes, but the numbers do not imply an order of importance or even sharp separation between themes, many of which are interrelated.

1. *A sense of the group or communality as being of central importance.* This value refers especially to the family, but also refers to one's school, place of employment, and any other long-enduring group to which one belongs. In a profound sense, an individual in Japan exists only in terms of the groups to which he belongs and has little identity apart from such contexts. This tendency was noted in our research on values (Caudill and Scarr 1962). More than Americans, Japanese emphasize the value of collaterality in familial and occupational life. The tendency is also evident even in sleeping arrangements; in modern urban Japan, out of preference rather

than necessity, a person characteristically sleeps in a two-generation group (first as a child, then as a parent, and later as a grandparent) over half his life cycle (Caudill and Plath 1966; Morioka 1968).

2. *A strong sense of obligation and gratitude.* It is still a virtue in modern Japan to acknowledge and repay personal obligations (to recognize one's *on* to others). A person who does not do this is held in contempt. Having a sense of duty *(giri)* to the group to which one belongs also remains a virtue.

3. *A sense of sympathy and compassion (*ninjo*) for others.* This sense of human feeling can be very strong, but it is often expressed impulsively and fleetingly. It should not get in the way of duty but sometimes does. Conflict of this sort has long been common in interpersonal relations in Japan.

4. *A strong sense of "we" versus "they."* The emphasis on "our group" versus the stranger or the outsider is strong within the Japanese society and also on an international level of "we Japanese" versus the people of any other country. Although foreigners are definitely regarded as outsiders, there is great interest in and curiosity about them.

This theme appears repeatedly in the literature on Japan. In the early twentieth century Lafcadio Hearn (1904: 472) complained that during fourteen years in Japan he had not been able to form a close relationship with anyone. He said, "Perhaps in two or three cases out of a thousand he [the foreigner] may obtain something precious—a lasting and kindly esteem, based upon moral comprehension; but should he wish for more he must remain in the state of the Antarctic explorer, seeking, month after month, to no purpose, some inlet through endless cliffs of everlasting ice." Hearn should have known better than to complain in this way and attribute his experience simply as the result of his being a foreigner. As Seidensticker (1961: 16) wrote some sixty years later: "The tight faction, as suspicious of outsiders as one tomcat is of another, is at once a curse and a blessing for Japanese society. It is a curse because it militates against broader humanity, a blessing because pride of faction can be a disciplining force and an incentive to achievement . . . . The foreigner who complains, 'But I just can't get in with them,' should not worry too much about the failure. They have trouble getting in with themselves."

The Japanese scholar Maruyama writes in a similar vein in his discussion of Japanese life since the Meiji Period. Maruyama describes the modern Japanese individual largely in terms of privatization and atomization. He states (1965: 497-498): "The exact opposite of the democratized type is the privatized individual. Like the atomized individual, the privatized one is also oriented toward the achievement of self-gratification rather than public goals. Both are dissociative in the sense that they shun taking the initiative in associating themselves with their neighbors. But in the case of privatization, the scope of interest is rather confined to one's 'private' affairs and is not as floating as that of atomization. Though political apathy characterizes

both types, the apathetic attitude of the privatized individual may be expressed as *withdrawal* rather than escape from his inner self. . . . On the other hand, however, this withdrawal tends to 'contain' his interest within the spheres of private consumption and entertainment."

Maruyama's privatized individual is one who has withdrawn into his small personal, familial, and occupational "we groups," and who has largely turned his back on the wider world. This circumstance is not uncommon in other industrialized countries, but in Japan it is combined with the organization of life into many vertical structures. It is not surprising, then, that interpersonal relations are unusually difficult for Japanese to handle—whether with other Japanese or with foreigners. In research with Japanese psychiatric patients we have found (Caudill and Schooler 1969) that the most common neurotic syndrome combines tense interpersonal relations, phobias, bodily complaints, and withdrawal (often into bed) from relations with others for long periods of time.

5. *An underlying emotionality and excitability which is controlled by a somewhat compulsive attention to details, plans, and rules.* The tendency to be excitable, and to rely on emotional feeling and intuition as much as on reason, is another theme that has been emphasized repeatedly in the literature. In 1905, Nitobe (1905: 109-110) said, "Personally I believe it was our very excitability and sensitiveness which made it a necessity to recognize and enforce constant self-repression." In the late 1920's Watsuji (1961: 207) said, "Even the Japanese . . . who seem to have liberated themselves so valiantly and heroically from the shackles of the traditions of their past still reveal their national character explicitly in their impatient excitability." In the late 1940's Nakamura (1964: 531) observed that ". . . the thinking of most Japanese tends to be intuitive and emotional." Finally, we may add from a somewhat different perspective that most industrial nations currently are experiencing unrest among college students as they try to give voice to their feelings about what could be a better world, but the excitability and factionalism of Japanese students are exceeded by none (Mehnert 1969).

6. *A willingness to work hard and to persevere toward long-range goals.* Despite the emotionality that is always so close to the surface in Japanese life, if a person is treated well he works willingly and hard. He feels he can accomplish tasks much better if a highly detailed plan of work is laid out for him.

7. *Devotion to parents, and an especially strong and long-enduring tie to the mother persisting in almost its childhood form.* The image of the mother, as she appears in the minds of most Japanese, is of a self-sacrificing, succoring, and enveloping being. This psychological image probably has greater intensity than the actual behavior of the mother would warrant, but such is often the fate of images. The role of the mother in Japanese culture deserves a full-scale historical and contemporary investigation.

8. *An emphasis on self-effacement and a tendency to avoid taking responsibility for the actions of oneself or others.* This tendency is illustrated in Niyekawa's work (1968) in which stick-figure cartoons showing interpersonal conflicts with a negative outcome were used as stimuli. The responses to these cartoons were measured by means of a questionnaire completed by samples of Japanese, Americans, and Germans. The Japanese attributed responsibility to others more frequently than did the Americans or Germans, who more frequently assumed personal responsibility for the unfortunate results.

9. *A tendency toward understatement and an emphasis on nonverbal communication.* As compared with Americans, Japanese seem to be more sensitive to, and make greater conscious use of, nonverbal communication by gestures and physical proximity. Americans predominantly use verbal communication while maintaining physical separateness. Differences in sleeping arrangements referred to earlier provide one illustrative example. An analysis of Japanese proverbs (Fischer and Yoshida 1968) is also illustrative. Japanese feel more comfortable expressing themselves in writing than in speaking, as in the *shi-shosetsu* novel (Hibbett 1966). In this connection, I found in my research that at six years of age the American children spoke more freely, but the Japanese children read and wrote more easily (see also Makita 1968).

10. *A great pleasure in the simple things of life, such as being in beautiful surroundings, playing with children, bathing, drinking, eating, and sex.* All of these things are regarded by the majority of Japanese as simple pleasures to be enjoyed for the immediate satisfaction that they give, whereas many Westerners have trouble with them (see Caudill 1962).

These themes and others which I have not discussed indicate a certain consistency in the ways in which Japanese personality and character have been seen over the years. We now need to test these themes for their historical depth and current strength.

The Social and Cultural Context of Psychological Studies in Japan

Personality does not just unfold from the inside as a person grows older; it is responsive to pressures from family and peers and is also affected directly and indirectly by social and cultural changes. As guidelines for future research, I wish briefly to point out the psychological implications of some of the major changes of the past 25 years. We need to know much more about the psychological implications in Japan of a) ecology—both natural and man-made, b) recent historical trends, c) social structure as interrelated with economic development, and d) family life.

Ecology. Except Watsuji Tetsuro in the late 1920's, no one has seriously considered the human implications of Japan's being a small insular country in which most of a population of about 100 million is squeezed into roughly

24% of the land area. The urban population of Japan was 9% in 1889, 18% in 1920, 38% in 1940, and 68% in 1965. Urban populations today are poorly housed, have inadequate transportation, and lack proper facilities for the disposal of waste products. Farmers living near cities now work in large numbers in factories while their womenfolk till the land; and it is important to learn how children are reared under such conditions. At the same time life is pleasanter in that there is a great variety and abundance of consumer goods; ownership of major appliances and automobiles has increased tremendously; and mass communication is possibly more highly developed than in the United States. In short, life in major urban areas is very modern: it is crowded, hectic, expensive, frustrating, often unhealthy and dangerous, and very interesting and diverting. Such conditions are likely to affect personality characteristics, but we know very little about this matter.

Recent historical trends. For its help in providing insight into the emotional currents that have run deep over the years, I especially like Passin's (1962) analysis of the sources of protest in Japan. Protest appears to derive from four principal aspects of national experience, the first of which is "reactive nationalism." As Passin points out, Japan is such an old "new state" that we sometimes forget that she, too, began her modern period under the fear of Western domination. Since 1868 Japan has gone through three cycles of courting the West and then withdrawing. The early infatuation with Western things and ideas was followed by a conservative reaction in the late 1880's which continued until World War I. The next wave of Westernism in the 1920's gave way to the ultranationalistic militarism of the 1930's and early 1940's. The "American boom" following World War II has been succeeded by the growing nationalism of the 1960's.

The second source of protest came with the maturing industrialization of Japan and the formation of a modern working class. Much of this working class came from rural peasant communities and was exploited by a managerial class well aware of the trade advantages of a low-paid labor force. The workers were kept under strict control, either by paternalism or outright repression. Paternalism gave genuine benefits insofar as it created a version of the happy family working harmoniously for the common interest. But after World War II, many benefits, such as health care and safety regulations, became available to workers through impersonal mechanisms of the state, and the image of the "happy family" became more difficult to maintain.

The third source of protest is the reaction to Japan's military defeat. Immediately after World War II many Japanese had strong feelings of self-rejection and self-pity, and a negative attitude toward Japanese social structure and culture. Many people turned to America for identification; others turned to socialistic and communistic ideologies, and still others turned to the "new religions." The postwar years also led to the emergence (or re-emergence) of a powerful streak of nihilism, particularly among the

youth. As in its earlier appearances, nihilism led to an involvement in pleasure for pleasure's sake and a fascination with eroticism, brutality, and the grotesque. For certain youthful groups, nihilism was blended with extreme revolutionary positions such as those held by the leaders of the *Zengakuren* (Lifton 1962).

A fourth source of protest arises from the successful materialistic mass society created in Japan. In this sense, the protest is not much different from that in the United States or other industrialized countries. It is both a conscious and unconscious reaction to aimlessness, vulgarity, commercialism, and boredom. Becoming a "salaryman" (see Vogel 1963) is still the goal of most Japanese mothers for their sons. But some of the bloom of this status has worn off: one's "sweet little home" is usually on the edge of Tokyo, Nagoya, or Osaka and begins to fall apart after four or five years because it is cheaply constructed; three or four hours are spent commuting daily to employment that ceases to have meaning because it leads nowhere; hordes of people turn to "leisure" to find interest in life and leave the city each weekend for skiing, camping, driving, walking, or just to get away.

These and other current sources of protest have their roots in the last hundred years; together they create many emotional crosscurrents that need to be investigated for their psychological meaning.

Social structure. Nakane (1967) and Passin (MS) have recently written perceptively on the strong tendency in Japan for human relations to be hierarchical. Almost any field of endeavor is composed of tight, vertically structured organizations which demand strict allegiance, self-sacrifice, and (to Western sensibilities) an extreme penetration of the organization into the private lives of its members; in return for such a commitment the organization protects its members in many ways and expects those directly above and below each other in rank to be personally solicitous and attentive to each other's needs. Between parallel organizations in the same field, cooperation and communication are severely restricted and competition is fierce. One result of such a system is that even within a single organization it is very difficult to achieve satisfactory horizontal ties among equals. Indeed, as Passin points out, since relative status is so important, the greatest danger may come from those closest in standing; among persons who are close in rank, harmonious working relations based on mutual reliance can, at a moment's notice, become discordant and filled with resentment. It is no wonder then, as Nakane notes, that within such a structure a person feels he must be in a personal and affective relationship with his senior.

This sensitivity to ranking and the need for an affective relation with superiors, and the superiors' need for personal attention from their juniors, sound very much like Doi's discussion of the concept of *amaeru* (the wish to depend and presume upon another's benevolence) which he uses as an explanatory principle in his writings about Japanese personality (e.g., Doi

1962). At the same time it is clear that Japan could not have been rebuilt after World War II to its level of world-wide importance without the use of a great deal of adaptive aggression.

The combined traits of social hierachy and the wish to *amaeru* in human relations contribute to understanding both the "genius" and the "curse" of Japanese life. When the individual feels taken care of and secure in a tight vertical structure he can work successfully and creatively. The vulnerabilities of the system are evident in the trauma experienced by persons who have been rejected by their group and have nowhere to turn. We need much more empirical testing of this line of thought concerning the positive and negative aspects of the emphasis on group life in Japan.

The modern occupational class structure of managers, white-collar workers, and skilled labor in Japan has been defined and described by Japanese sociologists, particularly by Odaka (1964-65) and his students, but as yet there has been little research that relates psychological characteristics to class affiliation and social mobility. Psychologically speaking, the sharing of a similar class status probably does not bind Japanese together very strongly; for example, there is little sense of the solidarity of labor as a class against management as a class. As noted earlier, a person is more likely to identify himself with a particular company or other organization in which relations are specifically hierarchical. Occupational mobility, however, has been increasing, for some groups more than for others and least of all for salarymen. Two recent studies (Tominaga 1962; Japan Information Service 1968) report the lowest rate of job changing among white-collar workers and salarymen with a higher rate among managers and skilled labor. This difference pertains regardless of the size of business, but the rate of turnover for both groups is greater in small than in large establishments. Thus, there is a willingness to take "greater risks" among employees in small businesses, and, so far as I know, the psychological implications of these differences have not been explored.

Family life. Personality is formed initially within the context of the family, and we now know that many more similarities exist in the size and structure of the family throughout the world than we previously supposed (Goode 1963; Burch 1967). It is likely that these similarities contribute to the psychological similarities that make all of us more alike than different. Smith's (MS) data on Japan indicate that the average size of urban households has not changed much since the eighteenth century; this historical perspective is a useful addition to Koyama's (1965) emphasis on the decreasing size of urban households in recent years under modern influences such as the legalization of abortion, and the increasing age at time of marriage.

The drastic postwar *legal* changes affecting the family contained in the revised Civil Code of Japan helped to stimulate a recent outpouring of writings on the Japanese family. Changes included the abolition of primo-

geniture, shifting the responsibility of caring for aged parents from the eldest son to all of the children, and legislation enhancing the status of the wife by emphasizing the rights of the individual and the equality of the sexes. As for this latter point, we have never paid enough attention to the great psychological strength of the Japanese woman—whether as single individual, wife, or mother. Her status in society has risen and fallen during various periods of history, but she has never been so downtrodden or powerless as sometimes depicted by Western writers.

As Dore (1958) states, the parent-child relationship was emphasized in the traditional Japanese family whereas in the modern family the husband-wife relationship has increased in importance. Because the father is out of everyday family life more than he is in the United States, the basic psychological alignment in the family is mother and children versus father (Vogel 1963). A recent study of rural and urban differences in home discipline (Aoi, et al 1970) reports an increase in the importance of the mother and a concomitant decrease in the importance of the father, especially in urban areas and particularly among white-collar workers. The intensification in husband-wife relations is evident on Sundays and holidays when the parents now do things together with the children as an entire family (unlike American husbands and wives who spend more time with each other apart from their children). The modern Japanese family tends to turn in on itself to a high degree (Blood 1967).

All of these matters make for a fairly distinctive emotional climate in the Japanese family, but within this general pattern are many variations that need further exploration, such as differences according to social class, residence in urban or rural areas, life in an apartment complex (see Kawasaki 1966) as against life in a house, and differences according to fathers' occupation.

Many studies have been made of Japanese customs of rearing children (see Lanham's paper in this book), most of which are based on retrospective and therefore often unreliable information obtained from mothers by interviews or questionnaires. We need more research on this early part of the life cycle by direct observation or experimentation (see, for example, Sonohara and Kuromaru 1966; and Tomita 1967).

The terminal years of the life cycle of the Japanese need much study. The average age of retirement is still 55 years (although it shows some signs of lengthening), but the ordinary man's retirement income is inadequate and any other aid he might receive from national or private pension plans is virtually a pittance. Here, obviously, is a fertile field for studying questions of psychological adjustment. What happens to a man between age 55 and death and to his wife and to children who are unable to support themselves? As Plath (in press) has vividly pointed out, the "After Years" are anything but a pleasant time of leisure in modern Japan.

Conclusion

We have only begun to describe and understand the psychological characteristics of groups of people of different societies and cultures. This endeavor encompasses internal variations within a country, as well as comparisons across national boundaries. Within Japan, for example, we have been informed (DeVos and Wagatsuma 1966) what it means psychologically to be a member of the *burakumin* (the pariah class), and in America an analysis by Liebow (1967) describes what it means psychologically to be of the ghetto black. Beyond the scholarly usefulness of their conclusions existing studies have contributed toward international understanding. Large numbers of Americans visiting Japan have benefited from reading about everyday Japanese life in books by Benedict, Reischauer, Dore, and Vogel. There should be similar books as adequate in scope and understanding by Japanese authors on everyday American life for use by Japanese coming to America, but such books have not come within my purview.

I have made a number of specific suggestions for future psychological studies in Japan and shall conclude with some general recommendations. Obviously we need sharper and better conceptual ideas, greater discrimination and control of variables, much more explicit concern with methods in both quantitative and non-quantitative studies, and greater attention to synchronic and diachronic comparisons both within Japan and with other cultures. I hope we can avoid concentrating on comparisons of Japan with the United States, and broaden our comparisons to include other countries such as those of Southeast Asia and Europe. Japan may well have much in common with other countries in matters of family life, childrearing, and personality development; but when comparison is limited to the United States the differences may appear to be more prominent.

As a final recommendation, I urge that we scholars expend greater effort to develop and sustain meaningful relations across national boundaries as colleagues working on common research problems not only on a personal level, but also at the institutional level through universities, private foundations, and national governments.

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NOTES

1. This topic is discussed more fully in a forthcoming article (Caudill MS). The literature I reviewed was written during four time periods. The first period starts in the late 19th century and extends into the early 20th century. Among Japanese authors I included Nitobe Inazo, Fukuzawa Yukichi, and Uchimura Kanzo; and among Westerners, Rutherford Alcock, Lafcadio Hearn, and Basil Hall Chamberlain. The second period covers most of the 1920's and 1930's and includes such Japanese writers as Watsuji Tetsuro, Hasegawa Nyozekan,

and Suzuki Daisetz. I found few Western writings on Japanese personality and character during this period; some of the work of Sir George Sansom appears, as does Thomas Raucat's light but enlightening farce, *The Honorable Picnic*. In the third period of the 1940's and early 1950's the Japanese writers include Kawashima Takeyoshi, Minami Hiroshi, and Nakamura Hajime; and the Westerners include Douglas Haring, John Embree, Ruth Benedict, Frank Gibney, and Edwin Reischauer. In the most recent period from about 1955 to the present, some of the Japanese writers are Maruyama Masao, Muramatsu Tsuneo, Doi Takeo, Sofue Takao, and Wagatsuma Hiroshi; and among Westerners are Ronald Dore, George DeVos, Ezra Vogel, Edward Seidensticker, and myself.

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